

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 102276  
ORIGIN ARA-14

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DRAFTED BY ARA/AND/CH:RSSSTEVEN;HA/HR:MSCHNEIDER  
APPROVED BY ARA:FMCNEIL  
ARA:GLISTER

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO IMMEDIATE  
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 102276

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: PINT, UK, CK

SUBJECT: VISIT OF CHILEAN RADICAL PARTY LEADERS

REFERENCE: LONDON 05346

1. ANSELMO SULE AND ACCOMPANYING GROUP OF RADICAL PARTY FIGURES, UNDER SPONSORSHIP IN U.S. OF COUNCIL ON HEMISPHERIC AFFAIRS, (COHA), SPENT APRIL 10 AND 11 IN WASHINGTON IN SERIES OF MEETINGS WITH USG AND PRIVATE INTERESTS. DELEGATION INCLUDED THOSE WE HAD EXPECTED, ANSELMO SULE, CHAIRMAN OF RADICAL PARTY (PR), AND CARLOS PARRA, PR EUROPEAN REPRESENTATIVE, AND TWO WE HAD NOT EXPECTED, JORGE TAPIA VALDES, MINISTER OF EDUCATION UNDER ALLENDE, AND HUGO VIGORENA RAMIREZ, FORMER CHILEAN CAREER DIPLOMAT, PR LEADER, AND ALLENDE'S AMBASSADOR TO MEXICO. SULE AND VIGORENA ARE BASED IN MEXICO, VALDES IN CARACAS, PARRA IN LONDON. WHILE IN WASHINGTON, THE GROUP HAS SEEN ARA DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY MCNEIL, HA/HR DEPUTY  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 102276

ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHNEIDER, SOME LOWER TO MIDDLE LEVEL OFFICIALS IN COMMERCE, TREASURY, LABOR AND AGRICULTURE, APPARENTLY SOME CONGRESSIONAL CONTACTS, AND CONDUCTED A "ROUND-TABLE" SESSION AT THE INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES.

2. PR GROUP MET WITH MCNEIL, ARA HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICER LISTER, AND CHILE DESK OFFICER STEVEN ON APRIL 11. SULE

SAID THAT MEETING HAD BEEN HELD RECENTLY IN CARACAS WITH CHILEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY (PDC) REPRESENTATIVES INCLUDING PDC PRESIDENT ANDRES ZALDIVAR. HE CLAIMED THAT AN AGREEMENT (ACUERDO) HAD BEEN REACHED FOR A UNITED FRONT (FRENTE AMPLIO) BETWEEN PDC AND FORMER POPULAR UNITY PARTIES. THE AGREEMENT IS NOT FORMAL, NOT WRITTEN, AND DOES NOT PRESCRIBE PRECISE STEPS FOR THE FUTURE. IT IS A GUIDELINE FOR "JOINT POLITICAL ACTION", FOR EXAMPLE IN ELECTING OR APPOINTING AGREED CANDIDATES IN ASSOCIATIONS AND LABOR UNIONS, AND IN ESTABLISHING BASIS FOR ALTERNATIVE GOVERNMENT FOR CHILE.

3. SULE ATTACKED AS A "FRAUD" THE APRIL 5 GOC ANNOUNCEMENT OF ACCELERATED MOVEMENT TOWARD CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT. HE SAID THAT THE JUNTA PLAN DID NOT PROVIDE FOR POPULAR PARTICIPATION, AND THAT NO SATISFACTORY PROVISION HAD BEEN MADE FOR THE RETURN TO CHILE AND PARTICIPATION OF EXILES SUCH AS HIS OWN PR GROUP. THE "POPULAR FRONT" WOULD NOT COPY OR PROPOSE MODELS OF GOVERNMENT NOT WANTED BY CHILEANS, BUT WOULD WORK IN A TRANSITION PERIOD TOWARD ELECTIONS IN WHICH THE CHILEAN PEOPLE COULD FREELY EXPRESS THEIR PREFERENCES, IN CONTRAST TO THE "FORCED PLEBISCITE" OF THE PINOCHET REGIME. SULE ASKED FOR OUR VIEW OF THE PINOCHET PROPOSAL, AND WHETHER USG WOULD "SUPPORT" THE PINOCHET PLAN.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 102276

4. MCNEIL RESPONDED BY FIRST NOTING THAT INTENT OF CARTER ADMINISTRATION WAS TO MAINTAIN COMMUNICATION WITH ALL DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS ON THE POLITICAL SCENE IN CHILE (AS IN OTHER COUNTRIES) AND HERE (I.E. WITH EXILE GROUPS). WE WISHED TO BE INFORMED OF THE SITUATION AND TO EXCHANGE THOUGHTS. WE SAW TWO ASPECTS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION. THE FIRST WAS VIOLATIONS OF THE RIGHTS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. THIS PROBLEM DID DIRECTLY AFFECT USG - GOC RELATIONS. PROGRESS HAD BEEN OBSERVED IN THIS AREA IN CHILE, HOWEVER. THE SECOND AREA WAS POLITICAL, REPRESENTING OUR PREFERENCE FOR DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENTS AND OUR HOPE THAT SUCH GOVERNMENT WOULD BE RESTORED IN CHILE. HOWEVER, DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER FOR EXAMPLE HAD REPEATEDLY STATED HOWEVER THAT WE HAVE NO FORMULA TO OFFER TO OTHER COUNTRIES FOR CONSTRUCTING DEMOCRACY. THE PR VISITORS RECEIVED THIS IN GLUM SILENCE.

5. MCNEIL TURNED THE PODIUM BACK TO SULE BY ASKING FOR HIS VIEWS ON THE RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY IN CHILE. SULE SAID THAT IT WAS A FALSE IDEA TO SUGGEST, AS SOME DID, THAT CHAOS WOULD RESULT IN CHILE IF THE JUNTA FELL. HE

SAID THAT CHILEANS, WITH THEIR EXPERIENCE OF DEMOCRACY, COULD HANDLE THIS. HE RETURNED TO HIS THEME THAT THE EXILES MUST RETURN TO CHILE TO HELP REBUILD. THERE HAD BEEN CAREFUL PRACTICAL AS WELL AS THEORETICAL STUDY AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE "POPULAR FRONT" (HE CITED A MEETING WITH THE PDC IN COSTA RICA) ON THE PROCESS OF RESTRUCTURING. IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT ONE PARTY OR A GROUP OF PARTIES COULD TAKE THE LEAD IN THE TRANSITION PROCESS, DEPENDING UPON THE CIRCUMSTANCES. THE DIFFICULTY WAS IN BUILDING CONSENSUS IN CHILE. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY, SULE CONCEDED THAT THEY HAVE A PLACE IN THE TRANSITION. HE DID NOT COMMENT UPON THEIR ROLE IN THE MORE PERMANENT GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE, BUT DID NOTE THAT THERE WERE SOME DEMOCRATIC ELEMENTS, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 102276

ESPECIALLY AMONG JUNIOR AND NONCOMMISSIONED OFFICERS, IN THE MILITARY.

6. TAPIA CAME IN TO EXPRESS THE CAVEAT THAT THOSE INDIVIDUAL MILITARY GUILTY OF CRIMES MUST BE TRIED BEFORE CHILEAN COURTS. THE FUTURE CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONSHIP REMAINED TO BE ESTABLISHED. IT WOULD NOT BE THE OLD POPULAR UNITY CONCEPT OF THE MILITARY, HOWEVER, WHICH NEEDED TO BE CHANGED. THE MILITARY MUST BE SOCIALLY INTEGRATED, AND MUST NOT HAVE A SEPARATE POLITICAL ROLE. HE CITED SWEDEN AND FRANCE AS EXAMPLES. THE MILITARY MUST BE A NEUTRAL FACTOR. SULE AGAIN ASKED FOR OUR INTERPRETATION OF THE MEANING OF THE APRIL 5 DEVELOPMENTS; MCNEIL SUGGESTED THAT IT REPRESENTED SOME MOVEMENT, AT LEAST.

7. SULE CLOSED WITH ANOTHER REFERENCE TO THE IMPORTANCE OF EXILES BEING ALLOWED TO RETURN TO CHILE, WITHOUT HAVING TO GIVE UP POLITICAL RIGHTS. HE INSISTED THAT JAIME CASTILLO OF THE PDC HAD SIGNED AWAY HIS POLITICAL RIGHTS IN ORDER TO GAIN READMITTANCE. SULE WANTED USG SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORT OF THE EXILES TO RETURN WITHOUT POLITICAL RESTRICTIONS.

8. ASKED ABOUT LOCAL PR REPRESENTATION, SULE SAID IN CONFIDENCE THAT SERGIO LABARCA, A CHILEAN WORKING IN THE OAS IN WASHINGTON, COULD SPEAK FOR THE PR, AND THAT ALEJANDRO DUALDE WITH THE UN COULD DO THE SAME IN NEW YORK.

9. AFTER LEAVING MCNEIL, SULE PRESSED STEVEN FOR AN OPPORTUNITY FOR FURTHER MEETINGS FOR "POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS". THE POSSIBILITY WAS LEFT OPEN FOR ANOTHER CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 102276

MEETING WITH STEVEN BEFORE THE GROUP LEFT WASHINGTON.

10. THE GROUP ALSO MET APRIL 11 WITH HA/HR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCHNEIDER. THE GROUP REPEATED TO SCHNEIDER THEIR REPORT OF A TENTATIVE ALLIANCE OF OPPOSITION POLITICAL PARTIES IN SUPPORT OF A RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS.

11. HOWEVER, A STRONG OBJECTIVE OF THE CONVERSATION WAS TO COMMUNICATE THEIR BELIEF THAT PINOCHET WAS AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE INTERNALLY AS A RESULT OF THE LETELIER INVESTIGATION AND THE CONTINUING EVIDENCE OF INTERNATIONAL DISASSOCIATION (UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION RESOLUTION, VOTES BY EUROPEAN AND U.S. DELEGATES IN THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, AND PUBLIC COMMENTS OF VARIED POLITICAL FIGURES).

12. THEY FELT THE PRESSURES ALREADY HAD BEEN VISIBLE IN THE REMOVAL OF GENERAL MANUEL CONTRERAS SEPULVEDA AND THE DECISION TO COMMUTE TO EXILE THE SENTENCES OF THOSE REMAINING POLITICAL PRISONERS. THEY FELT ADDITIONAL STEPS WOULD BE TAKEN BY PINOCHET TO RESPOND TO INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE.

13. THEY FELT THAT CONTINUED INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN AS THE MORE OBVIOUS SIGNS OF REPRESSION EASED BUT THAT THE DEGREE AND THE SPEED WITH WHICH A RETURN TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS WAS ACCOMPLISHED WOULD DEPEND TO SOME EXTENT ON THAT CONTINUED INTERNATIONAL CONCERN. CHRISTOPHER

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